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Tourist in the (K)Now: Social *Rapportage* and the Performative Rapport of Social Media.

Dr. Karen Savage
University of Lincoln, U.K.

ksavage@lincoln.ac.uk

This paper explores how tourists, through the use of social and digital media platforms, are able to develop formations and connections that enhance a sense of rapport. The role of tourist is articulated through a new term, the '*rapporter*', and the activity of the *rapporter* takes place as '*rapportage*'. Additionally, I suggest that this is achieved through the availability of mobile Apps. I propose that through the process and act of *rapportage* individuals can disseminate their responses to events and experiences, which provides an opportunity for further rapport. The voices then become part of a collective rapport inspired to understand and connect with others, and can provide different examples compared to the divisive and often aggressive reporting frequently articulated as part of the 'post-truth' environment.

Keywords:

Rapport

Rapportage

Rapporter

Tourist

Social media

Formations

Social world

Interrelations

In the 1980s Foucault suggested that where the nineteenth century was concerned with history, the present epoch was about space: “we are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed” (1986: 22), he wrote. Foucault lays out six principles of heterotopia – a term he uses to describe spaces that exist outside of all spaces, “even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality” (1986: 24). A clear example of a heterotopia is a cemetery, a space that connects the towns, villages, and the inhabitants, as well as those no longer living. “Our epoch is one in which space takes for us the form of relations among sites” (1986: 23), he wrote. Yet in this spatial heterotopia we are aware that narratives about time and the individuals connected to the space are also present. Now in the 21st Century, as part of Global North relationships with lands, technologies, economics, and ‘Others’, the concern with space still remains, woven with time to create ‘interlocked narratives’, (Massey, 2005 and Merriman, 2012) interconnected through the use of the internet and algorithms (Cheney-Lippold (2019), and digital social media platforms (Van Dijck, 2013 and Couldry & Hepp, 2017).

Significant events in recent history reiterate the Global North’s ongoing concerns with space: the displacement of refugees revises the Global North’s concerns to protect land, power and wealth, as well as rehearsing political provocations around otherness. Equally, the fight over lands and commodities, together with the global war on terror characterise this epoch and keep the issue of space at the forefront of our news. Alongside this, spatial and temporal slippages and readjustments appear to challenge our understanding of both the near and the far. It is possible to be simultaneously local and global (glocalization, see Khondker [2004]), present and absent (mediatized, see Auslander [1999]), Here and Now (NowHere - nowhere, see Savage [2015]).

Through recent experiences that have taken me abroad, away from my family, I have been considering how space and time come in to ‘action’. If I am travelling, one of my priorities is to be able to communicate and share my experiences with my family, who are often located in another space. When I am away from home I more readily consider time zones and choose methods of communication depending on what time of day it is, where I am and what I am doing. Mobile apps such as Whatsapp, Instagram and Twitter become staples for me to keep in touch with events back home, whether that be national or family news. The next part of this paper situates a case study of a trip to Athens in which I consider the various methods of communication I use to share my experiences. I explore the city of Athens, in many ways rather like a *flâneur* would have done; however, when I think about the tools available to me as a tourist today, and how I communicate the messages and experiences to people ‘back home’, I consider whether the *flâneur* is a sufficient term for a 21st Century tourist. In this case study I use images that come from my experiences of exploring Athens, and I have captured these (in time) as a montage (of the space).

Greece. A visit to Athens during the July 2015 referendum.

In July 2015 Greece held a referendum on the economic crisis. Would they accept a financial bailout that would subject Greece to several more years of

austerity? The media reported riots in the streets, and focused on the instability of the country. The people of Greece had been negatively described in the media, and the complexities of the individuals' economic crisis had been diminished alongside the broader concerns for Europe. In typical press depictions, as *The Telegraph* has commented, '[t]he hard-working German paying for the early retirement of the laid back, work-shy Greek has become the defining cartoon image of the eurozone crisis'. (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/greece/8598604/Greek-bailout-The-view-from-Europe.html> accessed April 29th 2016). So, much of the press media positioned people outside of Greece as victims of Greek inability to manage the country's finances. The media portrays a 'them' and 'us' that creates antagonism, and this is often misappropriated towards people and the personal, rather than towards the political climate. This 'othering' by the mainstream media sets up a dichotomy that can be alienating and aggressive.

In 2015, in a time when the spotlight was on Greece, I took the opportunity to visit the Greek capital, Athens. I wanted to consider how I might be a tourist during this period. Greece relies on tourism as an industry to support it financially, and yet the messages from the media spread insecurity, depicting a volatile country, not necessarily welcoming to visitors. I wanted to experience the Greek capital for myself and to report my experiences to others, particularly, in this case, my family. I wanted to be able to share an experience that wasn't predicated on sensationalizing events, or creating divisive news reports. It became important to me that my experience was one that my family could consider to be empathetic rather than antagonistic towards a 'country in crisis'.

Using my experiences in Athens, this paper discusses how a tourist can use digital media apps to explore rapport (therefore becoming a rapporteur), and to take part in, what I have called, rapportage.

Rapportage is focused on how the 'I' makes connections to become 'we', to become a multitude, exploring the interrelatedness of what one is witnessing, experiencing and capturing. The residue of the rapporteur's journey—the rapport itself—is, in the very framing actions of selection and focus a performative act, that captures a specific identity of place as the rapporteur has understood it, both through their objective voyeurism and their intimate rapport.

I arrive in Athens and my first point of call is to the famous Syntagma Square. It is the evening. I can see that people are gathering, and that news teams are setting up cameras and microphones. I don't understand what is being said; I don't understand the posters and the banners that are being brought to the square. It's really hot and some of the younger people appear to be catching up with friends. Aside from the presence of the news teams, it doesn't seem any different to other squares that I have visited in capital cities. It's a focal point for protests and for groups of people to meet and I end up chatting at length to an elderly man who has a lot of conspiracy theories, about pretty much everything. It's difficult for me to filter through his comments and his ramblings. I make my way and go to watch a group of young people using the steps as ramps for their skateboards. I Facetime (a videochat app/program) my son, who is a very good skateboarder, and he is keen to try out the steps too. I think about how I have been able to show him this; I am pleased I can stay connected to my family and share my experiences with them, but this interaction also makes me think about how we share space with people. I can see myself with them, and they are here with me: we share a screen.

[illegible]

I will propose a method for understanding and performing this dialectic is as a *rapporter*. I use the *rapporter* as a hybrid term coming from the combined words ‘reporter’ and ‘rapport’, and also in recognition of the mobile apps that are now so ubiquitous in our communications. In order to present this term I’ll begin with the reporter and citizen journalism. With the increase of digital platforms and recording devices there is a possibility for individuals to contribute to the dissemination of events through citizen journalism. This approach recognises that citizens could contribute to reporting the news using the various devices available to them. They could operate outside of typical news institutions, often producing less objective reports. Citizen journalism has been criticized by professional reporters; thought of as unreliable, amateur and too subjective, a step too far away from the stance of objective truth that is assumed to be at the heart of ‘proper’ journalism. Citizen journalism could be seen as empowering regular people, able to report, as witness, their experiences. However, by understanding the output as journalism, and then prefacing this with the word citizen, there is a sense that the output is devalued; yet our culture, through the use of technical media widely available and used domestically, is shifting towards a ‘home-made -maker’ domain, and people feel able to actively participate and document their experiences.

De Vries Coverage August 2010

and individual Blogs and Vlogs, we can all say ‘something’ and we can deliver that message broadly. The confusion comes when individuals present evocative and personal opinions as if they are fact and indicative of objective journalism. It is clear to understand why the institutions of our mainstream media would want to protect their status as professional, and in order to do that it becomes necessary to highlight what is ‘other’ or ‘different’ to their own style of reporting. It is very easy to throw doubt on any information disseminated, whilst at the same time reinforcing particular views or styles from the powerhouses of the mainstream media. The challenge though is far-reaching, political leaders have aggressively attacked the mainstream media, whilst at the same time disseminating questionable and divisive rhetoric. Consumers of any type of media have been witness to the problems of this in the various correspondences from members of President Trump’s administration, including from the President himself, as well as in the EU referendum in the UK. The dichotomy then between the mainstream media and some political leaders sets up a murky sea for individuals to be able to navigate.

It is important to note then, that citizen journalism can provide an opportunity for collective responses to ethical, environmental and political concerns, but each of these representations is also about the ‘I’. The citizen wanders in to difficult territory when there is an assumption that the ‘I’ is speaking as universal fact. I recognized, through my experiences in Athens, and through the sharing of those experiences, that my role seemed to move between *flâneur* and citizen journalist. One of the ways that I will unpack this is in considering how we create rapport.

Rapport¹ relies on a type of mirroring; an understanding between what is ‘over there’ (someone else’s experience) and what is ‘here’ (my experience), recognising that an individual’s response and action can have an impact collectively. It is understood that rapport is something that happens between two people or between a group of people. Bronstein (et al) explain that rapport can’t be “disassembled to its component parts” meaning that “the degree of rapport that arises in an interaction is the product of the synergy between participants and cannot be measured regarding either one of them alone” (2012: 1091). When I consider bringing my family in to my discoveries, in to my experience of my travels I am aware of how I create rapport with them over certain moments, specific events that happen, or something that I ‘know’ or ‘think’ they will connect with. The play between ‘I’ and a ‘We’ in relation to this collective experience becomes clear as I walk around the city. I am caught between a space of my own, and one that I share with others; often simultaneously I am ‘with’ my family, discussing and sharing my experiences with them. I think again about Foucault’s mirror and how it highlights a utopian space: “I discover my absence from the place where I am since I see myself over there” (1986: 24), but he also explores it as relational to that space, it is a dialogue between our presence and absence, and therefore: “I come back toward myself; I begin again to direct my eyes toward myself and to reconstitute myself there where I am” (1986: 24). I understand the mirror as a useful analogy to consider how rapport works as a dialogic and relational technique. I find this particularly helpful

¹ It is evident from Murphy & Rodriguez-Manzanares’s report on the literature of rapport (2012) that: “[r]apport is a dyadic phenomenon (Altman, 1990), experienced only in interaction between individuals, and not a personality trait (Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal, 1990). It is therefore a mutual phenomenon characterized by mutual attentiveness (Tickle-Degnen & Rosenthal, 1990), mutual respect (Kyriacou, 2009), mutual openness (Granitz et al., 2009), mutual attention (Hall, Roter, Blanch, & Frankel, 2009), and mutual understanding” (Carey et al., 1988: 168).

when I think about how I communicate with my family about ‘moments’ I want to share with them. This is highlighted specifically when there is a physical distance between us, but one that is traversed through the use of mobile apps

In the next part of this paper I will explore how this positioning of rapport can help us to conceptualize the *rapport* as an alternative to the report of the journalist. I suggest that by situating *rapportage* as a performative act, and therefore the *rapporter* as ‘actor’ in that framework, we can understand how our social actions impact our communications across a variety of interactions.

I am using the case study of a tourist to understand how it is possible to use the social world to engage with other places and how experiences are shared through various media platforms. I propose a method for understanding and performing that position is as a *rapporter*.

The following day I explore the interesting bohemian quarter of Exarheia. I google map the area so I can navigate through, and I take photos of the streets. I record some video and send it to my daughter. She’s a fan of the poster artwork and has started making her own videos, especially music videos. The citizens of Athens in this local community have reclaimed this district and I find premises occupied by squatters running businesses, those such as 1-euro bars. The area is covered in graffiti, not just in random splurges of expression, but as an entire aesthetic. The graffiti reclaims the buildings and blankets the area, laying a veil over what it once was. This is now a space dominated by the youth, who sit in the courtyards chatting, drinking, smoking, cooling off in the 40-degree heat. I am reminded of my own youth, of reclaiming spaces for clubbing, the underground ‘rave’ scene that dominated the 1990s and my own experiences. The area doesn’t feel violent, there isn’t a sense of unease; it feels like a statement or a manifesto, and I recognize it to be a projection for the future. There is a sense of community that feels to me like ‘we are all in it together’, and this is demonstrated in the actions of the people sharing time together, and in the statements of the graffiti decorating the facades of the buildings. This area, a 15-30 minute walk from the main ‘tourist attractions’, the iconic government buildings and Syntagma Square is a reminder that communities are finding a way forward together, that they are doing this despite their governments, and this contrast can be seen literally, aesthetically, in the presentation of the space.

Fig 2: day 2 in Athens – Exarcheia.



Tourist in the (K)Now: *Rapportage* and *Rapporteur*

One characteristic feature of tourism has been the ritual of recording one's travels in journals, photographic recollections or through souvenirs (remembrances). Increasing technological possibilities have enabled tourists to document and share these remembrances like never before, posting images, pictures and accounts into the public space of online media, allowing more than close family and friends to be exposed to their touristic adventures. In terms of my discussion of the *rapporteur*, it is interesting to consider what relationship this new technological capacity opens up between the tourist and their site of interest. I'll suggest that the interaction between the tourist, site and the technology enables a different type of remembrance to emerge: the blend between reporting and rapport that I have called *rapportage*

Theopisti Stylianou-Lambert posits that tourists reproducing images of a place is a passive act, she says: "...research has repeatedly shown that photographs taken by tourists seem to replicate and reinforce already existing media depictions, which are usually stereotypical and exclude any issues of power" (2012: 1820). In other words, the tourist's gaze is structured and the role of the tourist is pre-determined by the host. The sights-to-see are highlighted in brochures and bus tours, and the tourist is both metaphorically and literally chaperoned through the city, suggesting that the tourist is indeed passive in the act of reproducing images of 'place'.

Not only is a tourist expected to observe particular sites, but they are also expected to make replica images of that site. The propaganda of a place can be orchestrated by various media; persuading outsiders that a country/space/place is 'one thing' or 'another', and this is simply reinforced by tourists as they travel to the expected sites. "On the other hand, more recent studies see tourists as active performers who playfully re-create the spaces and people they photograph through unique experiences" (Stylianou-Lambert 2012: 1818). This recognizes the agency of the tourists; Stylianou-Lambert connects this to the performative turn, and suggests that through their journey, a tourist's personal document can be used as a unique interpretation of a particular place. Documents have become easier to create with the use of digital and mobile devices, and we are able to record and evidence materials as part of our role as tourists. This document might be in the form of photographs, collections, video, blogging etc., furthermore; "tourists use photography after their trips in order to share experiences with loved ones, create narratives, trigger

memories, and further social engagement” (Stylianou-Lambert. 2012: 1822). What we understand about the tourist then is that they will visit a place of interest, reproduce an image of that place, and then share that image (as a signifier or evidence of experience) to others. In the past the sharing would have happened post-trip, but with the opportunities for blogging, vlogging and mobile applications such as Instagram and Twitter readily available and widely used, the experience and the sharing of that experience can happen almost simultaneously.

However, the tourist is often capturing the experience through technology, caught between the ‘liveness’ of being in the here and now, and in the process of documenting it. In the process of capturing there is often a rehearsal, a restaging, some repositioning. The author of the capture looks again, and is often captured looking again and again. This strange replaying of the tourist is then restaged for followers as it is shared across many platforms. It is in this moment that I think space and time are held in dialogue with each other. Merriman et al encapsulate this in the notion of liveliness². Are we looking at or embodied in the first instance, the record of, the restaging, the sharing of? I return here to the mirror as an analogy for rapport. If we, through the use of mobile devices and apps, are both witness to and documenter of a site, then both the individual present at the site, and the individual(s) that are sharing online, are caught in a dialogic activity of experience and dissemination. I refer to this process as rapportage.

In fact, such a duality is not an entirely new phenomenon, since scholars have previously acknowledged the role of technology in duplicating and sharing experiences across space and time. Jacques Ranciere, for example, positioned the nineteenth century and the age of mechanical reproduction as:

a period that witnesses an unlimited proliferation of the vignettes and little tales in which a society learns to recognize itself, in the double mirror of significant portraits and insignificant anecdotes that form the metonymies of a world, by transposing the artistic practices of the image/hieroglyph and the suspensive image into the social negotiation of resemblances (Ranciere, 2009, p 16).

This mirrored relationship is similar today; society recognizes itself in the portraits and anecdotes of others, bringing other people’s experiences into their own lives and contributing to the narrative of that experience by ‘sharing’ across various media platforms. Bunz (2019: 280-281) says: With the help of [...] communication tools we form as multitudes (Virno 2004, 84), create assemblages (DeLanda 2006), or coordinate ourselves on platforms (Srnicek 2017). She explores the shift in emphasis

² “Massey, Thrift and others have suggested that our focus must be on ‘time-space’ or ‘space-time’. Massey (2005), in particular, has outlined how space and time ‘are integral to one another’, ‘distinct’ but ‘co-implicated’, and ‘it is on both of them, necessarily together, that rests the liveliness of the world’” (pp. 47, 55, 56)” (Merriman et al, 2012: 4).

Merriman et al’s use of the word ‘liveness’ is interesting, suggesting an energy, engagement and embodiment of action. In this paper I use the essence of liveliness to refer to a rapport in a dynamic way, considering how, as individuals, we use our own bodies, and extensions of our bodies, such as recording devices, apps and social media platforms to be energized, engaged and embodied. I also discuss how we continue to explore the sense of space and time through our interactions with each other (often through media platforms), and by doing this we engage in rapportage.

from production to digitization and how imperative to this is the link between organization and technology. As part of the relationship between organization and technology, the role of the citizen can become participatory: “[c]onnections and distances are constantly communicated, negotiated, acknowledged, or denied: this is the work of a society, a work done with the help of a symbol, a paper form, or a poster, a meeting room, a telephone, a membership card, a digital platform, or a specific thing (Marres 2012)” (Bunz in Glas et al 2019: 280-281). Here we can look to contemporary scholars in media and sociology to understand the ways that we relate to our world through the use of media.

Couldry and Hepp note that there are three fundamental points to learn: first, that “the social world is intersubjective” (2017: 18). They explain that although analysis should be given to understanding the various “actors within the social world”, we also need to recognise that the social world has “an existence beyond (that is independent of) the individual” (2017: 18). They go on to say that “[v]arious media are important means towards securing the intersubjective character of our social world. Media offers the possibility to communicate across time and space, developing a shared understanding of the social world and representing the social world for further reflection and action” (2017: 18). We are aware of this intersubjective relationship when we view material on platforms such as Facebook and Twitter. When we respond to the tweets of friends and colleagues we are able to share a part of and play a part in the social world.

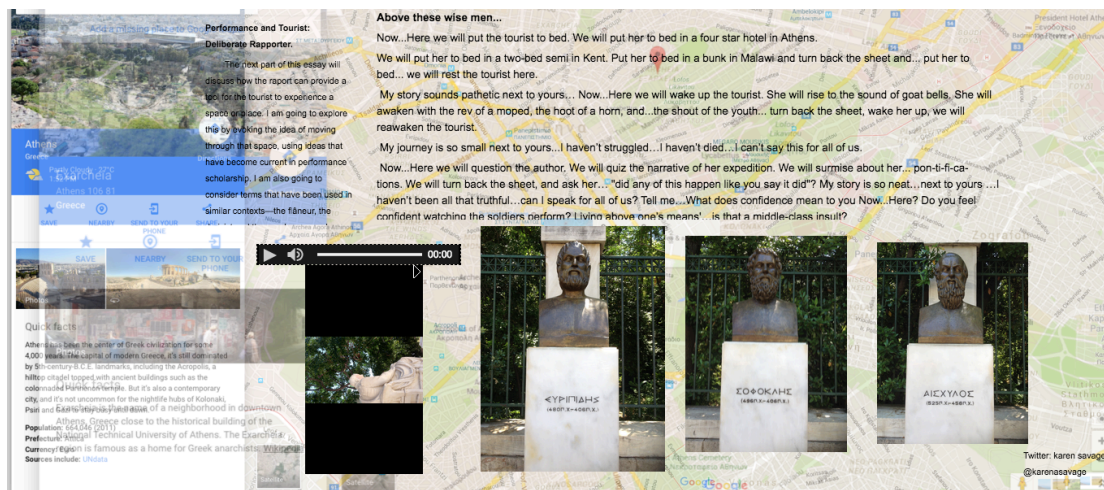
In the process that I have called *rapportage* there is the opportunity to develop that participation and develop a shared understanding. The *rapporter* though is also a playful term that draws attention to the obvious connection but difference between the reporter and rapport. To move away from subjective and problematic reporting, the reporter keeps an objective distance. In the *rapporter* there is a dyadic interplay between one thing and another, which is dynamically played out. Rapport enables us to think about the connectivity, the relationships, and the ‘resemblances’ in the act. In using Foucault’s understanding of the relational between the individual and space, we are able to use the mirror as an analogy for understanding rapport, and therefore understanding how an individual might engage as a *rapporter* in *rapportage*.

Couldry and Hepp’s second point is that “[e]veryday reality is the foundation of the social world” (2017: 19). They acknowledge that much of our behavior is explicitly linked in the social world through our use of media, they say “it makes no sense at all to think of everyday reality as a ‘pure experience’ that can be contrasted with a (somehow secondary) ‘mediated experience’” (2017: 19). Their third point suggests that the “social world is internally differentiated in domains” (2017: 19). They say that the boundaries of the domains are blurred, and through differentiation and the intersection of these domains that “media play a double role” (2017: 20) It is worth considering here how this ‘double role’ is symbiotic with Foucault’s mirror; where Couldry and Hepp consider difference and intersection, I propose that this can be applied to the act of using a mirror. There is a blurring between where ‘I’ am and where ‘I’ am looking. And if we consider this in relation to the boundaries of space, there is an awareness of ‘difference’ and ‘intersections’, that blur our relationships with ‘them’ and ‘us’, the ‘I’ and the ‘We’, the ‘Here’ and ‘There’. Furthermore, when using apps for the dissemination of experiences there is also the potential for the blurring of time and space in relation to presence and absence. I suggest then that the

use of apps to capture actions and to share experiences is a relational act, one that reflects the role of Foucault's mirror in understanding how individuals, sometimes together, might engage with space.

I leave Exarheia and visit a conference at the University. The theme is democracy, and although I can't understand what is being said, I can feel the tension and the anger in the room. Students shout out to the speaker, who I understand is a politician from the local government. Just behind the University buildings I find another community of people, again gathered together because of 'shared' interest. The addicts injecting heroin decorate the park, some collapsed, some waiting, but all of them in a desperate state. How will their government help them? How will they tell their stories, and be understood? The openness in which this addiction is displayed is a poignant and rather disturbing symbol of the problems that Athenians are facing. What is significant in the experience of these spaces is the way, that as a tourist, I am able to 'be' in the space. Here I don't feel able to take pictures, or to share my experiences simultaneously with my family. I am ashamed that so many people are suffering openly, in places that should be shared for pleasure I can only see desperation and sadness. I realize that I don't know what to do, and I don't feel that I should loiter in the space any longer. I wander through the main streets and take a moment to reflect on what I have seen. I find myself confronted by the statues of philosophers, and I find humour in the poignancy of this symbolism. It is here that I can start to put my thoughts in to pictures, and respond with a poetic sense through words and images. I call my partner and tell him that we are so privileged, and that our children should become confident experiencers of other countries and of other cultures. We make promises to take more family trips, to open our environment more widely so that we can share these things with our children. I reflect on other experiences I have had as a tourist and as a traveller. Again I wear my privilege as I continue my travels.

Fig 3: day 3 in Athens – the wise men.



Performance and Tourist: *Rapportage* as performative act.

The next part of this paper will discuss how *rapportage* can provide a tool for the tourist to experience a space or place. I am going to explore this by evoking the

idea of moving through that space, using ideas that have become current in performance scholarship. In *'Making Routes: relational journeys in performance'* David Overend analyses journey-based performances. He says that the understanding of place as fluid rather than fixed is a shift in our thinking, which "underlies a turn in conceptions of place away from an essentialist understanding of geography, towards an appreciation of the relational processes through which space is continually constructed" (2013: 365-381). In this sense, space is created through the performative actions that take place within a 'given' location. This is reminiscent of Debord's theorem of Psychogeography, potentially a space created by the people who take their 'turn' in that space.

It is worth noting that, although tourism does not necessarily require walking practices to be involved, and although walking practice doesn't necessarily involve being a tourist, the self-consciousness of performative walking practices inevitably magnifies the significance of the space that is being traversed in a way that is comparable to the way in which tourists experience the sites they visit. Many performers use walking both as a tool and as performance to explore autobiographical themes: Carl Lavery's walking artists network and Fiona Bannon's walking as a form of urban choreography are but two examples. Roberta Mock explores the work of Carl Lavery, Phil Smith and Deirdre Heddon in *'Walking, Writing and Performance'* (2009) and the emphasis in her discussion appears to be on exploring identity and self in landscape and journey. *Rapportage* might be considered differently to other walking performances in that it is primarily concerned with the way that the interaction is acted out, documented and disseminated. Though like walking practices it does stage a performative (and often mobile) relationship with the site, I am concerned to portray the way that the 'I' is relational to the media used as well as the site explored.

Armed with the technological tool of the contemporary tourist trade—the mobile phone camera, the Instagram app and the Facebook page—*rapportage* can take place, be captured and performed almost in an instant to a host of contacts and friends. In some ways this is akin to the role ascribed to a previous generation, bearing only the technology of the camera. Susan Sontag proposed that: "[t]he photographer is an armed version of the solitary walker reconnoitering, stalking, cruising the urban inferno, the voyeuristic stroller who discovers the city as a landscape of voluptuous extremes" (1977: 55). She associates this relationship with the gaze of the *flâneur*, distanced yet empathetic: "Adept of the joys of watching, connoisseur of empathy, the flâneur finds the world "picturesque." (55)

Sontag's use of the word 'empathy' positions the photographer as someone attuned to their surroundings, sharing in an experience. In other ways, this can be likened to the more contemporary identity of the post-tourist, defined by Andrew Wood. He discusses Maxine Feifer's idea of a post-tourist who he suggests "may be known by three qualities: they are freed from traditional tourist locales; they can experience multiple perceptions of tourism; and they are self-reflexive about their roles in the co-construction of tourist sites" (2005: 321). Wood explains that this performance of tourism is similar to the performance of the *flâneur*:

[b]oth adopt a stance that conveys recognition, even celebration, of the artificiality of the performance. Both also transform the totalizing spectacle of contemporary life into objects, snapshots, glances, and souvenirs, often in unintended ways – 'dragging' new meanings upon

established ones, superimposing personal meanings upon institutional ones (2005: 321-322).

Wood explores the way that “[T]he post-tourist *flâneur* engages in behaviors and utterances that enable transformation and performed ‘knowingness’” (2005: 322). This element of ‘knowingness’ positions the tourist as an active chooser of experience. This tourist understands the ‘construction’ of place and space and takes part in the artifice knowingly, “awake and aware” (2005: 326); there is an acknowledgement of irony in the act of the tourist.

It would appear that these tourists then are quite different to Sontag’s photographers; irony replaces empathy. A knowing distance replaces an empathic relationship. The photographer’s use of the lens enables them to capture intimately but at a distance, whereas our tourist in ‘situ’ keeps an ironic or knowing distance. Both though are present in a game of looking and being looked upon. It is in this ‘looking at and looking again’ relationship that the *rapporter* is able to continue their interaction, through the role of *rapportage*, and the *rapporter* further enhances that experience by disseminating a *rapport* for others to witness across our global digital networks. Where Sontag’s *flâneur* chose the camera, our *rapporters* choose a range of media tools to experience and share their experiences. As receivers of the *rapports*, we can consume this sort of tourism from our armchairs – it is not so much as if the tourists are recounting the experiences of their adventures, or as if the *rapporters* are correspondents in the field, filling us in on news we are not able to witness ourselves; *rapportage* offers us the opportunity of vicariously experiencing the sites of elsewhere, and both in the construction of *rapportage* and its consumption, we indulge in the sense that we are going on this journey with and for other people. There is another opportunity beyond the ‘armchair’, and this is the possibility of sharing which then encourages others to witness and to develop a *rapport* through others’ experiences. It may be that my *Facetime* to my children, which positioned them in the space with me, sparked a curiosity to develop the *rapport* with the space. I explore this further below.

When thinking about how those journeys are made, dialogues around proxemics are called in to question; the notions of the near and far, the local and global, and the here and there or nowhere. It’s interesting to consider the space that individuals set around themselves, and how this is explored further through the use of technologies. Technologies can offer a different sense of purpose, and provide opportunities to readjust the spaces in which individuals interrelate with other people. Vestergaard explores this in relation to how exhibitions are transformed through digital media “Ultimately...[it] is all about balance and effects. Media ecology is dialectic, acknowledging that the introduction of one medium will offset and change other media” (16) His point is that media reshapes other media, he notes that this isn’t always immediately apparent, and can sometimes take years for the shape of the transformation to become clear.

As tourists, one of our activities might be to explore museums, to experience some of the cultural elements of the cities that we visit. At the same time, these creative and cultural sites are exploring ways in which they can engage consumers/visitors through online and digital technologies. In a sense then, the institutions and the publics are in dialogue to create a new *rapport*. The visitors have a choice about how to engage; they may choose to do that vicariously. I understand this

to be similar to the way that I am a tourist with my children. Sometimes they accompany me on my travels with their feet, sometimes through the use of mobile devices. However, how much they actually engage with the site, compared to how they are engaging with me, at the site, is questionable. As the *rapporter* I choose to reach out to them in moments that I recognize as significant, the *rapport* that I disseminate to them is personal until they choose to engage more actively. This intersubjective relationship becomes clear through the moments shared on platforms such as Facetime: when my son responds to the skateboarders with his own desire to be able to ‘jump the steps’, and when my daughter talks with me about the art designs on the posters layering the streets, we engage with rapport between each other but also with the space. We each learn something about each other and about Athens. Many of these conversations, through the use of digital apps, provided more fruitful understandings than could be achieved by my ‘walking alone’. I recognize then that my rapportage is stronger when it can be shared.

The way that we develop our engagement with the social world around us is clearly articulated by Couldry and Hepp’s three waves of mediatization

The reason why we can understand mechanization, electrification and digitalization as waves of mediatization is that each of these captures a distinctive way in which the constellation of media generally available at a particular time and place operate as an environment – not only through upcoming ‘new’ media but also through continuing ‘old’ media (2017: 40).

They suggest that there is now a possible fourth wave of mediatization. In understanding the social actor’s position of both interdependence and choice they recognize that the “dynamics of that wider environment, particularly its overriding pressures towards datafication, are of major consequences for all actors and for the organization of social life as a whole” (2017: 56). Our social world then is a complex one between choice and guided decision. We are reminded of our post-tourists chaperoned to various sites as they act out the expectations of their role. The tourist and the site are in a relationship of interdependence, as a tourist I want to see the sites, and the sites need the tourists. The sense of interdependence is explored further in Couldry and Hepp’s expansion of Norbert Elias’ theory of *figurations*. They explain how ‘accumulated relations of meaning’ can be used to describe ‘our life with media’ (2017: 60), and note how Elias’ approach was able to move away from metaphor and description as he, “understood the social world through its increasingly complex ways of interweaving human beings in *relations of interdependence*” (2017: 59). They specify “three distinct dimensions of how *figurations* stabilize: their relevance-frames, actor-constellations and communicative practices, each of which is founded, in part, on relations of meaning” (2017: 66). They propose that people come together for a shared purpose or meaning, that a constellation of individuals also come together because there is a relatedness – sometimes a familial relationship, or another social relatedness (friendship), and additionally that a figuration comes together because of certain ways of doing things, and using certain ensembles of media (2017: 66-67).

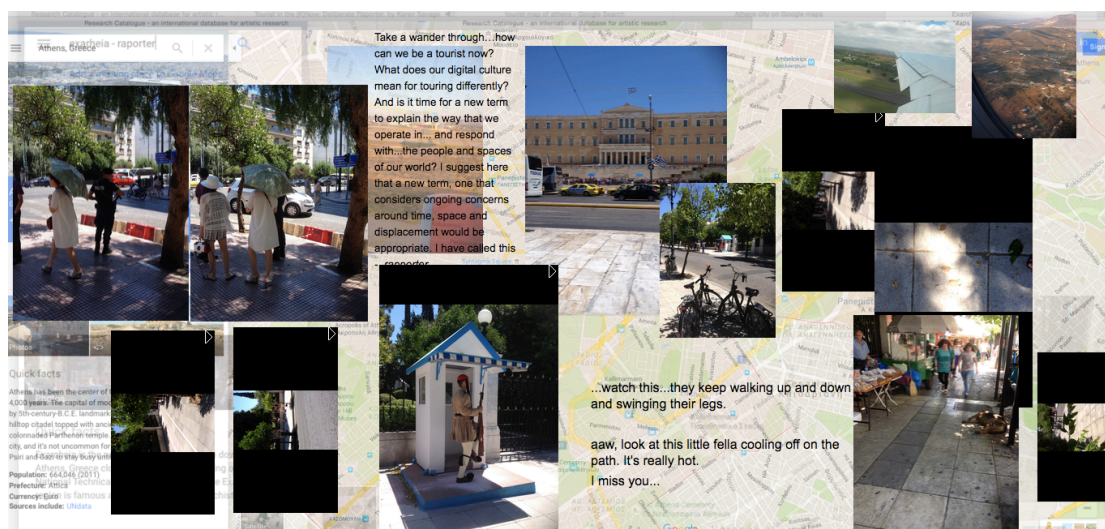
Inherent in this analysis is a sense of rapport. There is a coming together, an interrelatedness that is developed through some ‘shared’ practice, or shared

understanding. We are able to return to our tourist as *rapporter* here, and consider how, through *rapportage*, it is possible to develop a rapport between site and the receivers of the *rapports*. The tourist is positioned as a social actor who interweaves the interrelatedness between first-hand experience and disseminator of that experience. Using social media as a tool for dissemination, the tourist is able to share across a *figuration* of environments.

In using the term 'figure' the body is readily corporealised. Thinking corporeally enables the body as present, and through the use of digital technologies performative processes can be explored, engaged and experienced. So, here we link to the discussion of proxemics and the interrelationships between experiencers of space and time, and the technologies that are used as part of that relationship. When I Facetime my children from Athens, showing them the spaces that I am walking, I am present to them, in a place that they are also seeing presented by the mainstream media. They may be shown riots on the daily news channels but they also see that there is more to 'know' than what the mainstream media shows them. They understand this because they can see and talk to me at the same time. When we share on our apps we are doing more than talking about my trip, or their day; we are also developing an awareness of place that moves beyond mainstream media representation.

In my final day in Athens I decide to follow other tourists. I spot a stream of umbrellas being used to keep the sun off the walking tourists, and we all stop to watch what appears to be the ‘changing of the guard’. It’s quite a glorious choreography of marching back and forth, a swinging of legs and a promenade across the streets. I Facetime my daughter, showing her the marching feet of the guards, as well as my own feet as I try and copy some of the steps, she laughs at the movements and we comment on how hot they must be. I talk to her about all the walking I’ve done today and about the things that I have seen. I tell her I miss her, and everyone else, and I say that I’ll see her soon. I say that I’ll have the videos to show her when I get home, and so I record more of the street. I video my own walking alongside the guards as I meander my way back to the hotel.

Fig 4: day 4 in Athens – Tourists and Guards.



The *rappporter* can be considered to have many attributing characteristics of the conventional tourist and also the post-tourist *flâneur*, but as well as these characteristics the *rappporter* also ‘figures’ with a sense of rapport—something between the ‘knowingness’ of an event/site/experience and the empathy felt as part of that experience. The *rappporter* can be self-reflexive about their position within the situation, within the role that they are playing (perhaps as tourist) but the ‘truth’ of the *rappporter*’s experience is in the dialogic, interrelatedness of the figurations that are “formed and reformed, in an open-ended process” (Couldry & Hepp. 2017: 63).

Rapportage is an individual’s attempt at ‘finding for themselves’ meaning, and therefore understanding in a situation. Potentially the way that we develop figurations and play our part in the distinct phases of mediatisation, creating our own understandings of the social world might enable the multiplicity of individual voices to figure more dominantly. If we recognize this as a performative act, rather than a journalistic style, then it can provide a counterpoint, a possible corrective, to both the problematic environment of ‘post-truth’ reporting often associated with some forms of citizen journalism and mass media coverage.

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Walking artist's network. <http://www.walkingartistsnetwork.org>

Word count: 7680.